726 the distance is regarded as an invitation to battle.[25] A narrative of a famous fight, recorded by Dr. Stanley Newman, has been contributed to this record. Lemondo, one of the leaders, was known to the Chunut informant, J.A.

Lemondo and Tabaa[26]

726 They knew that they would fight. The Yaud-
anchi sent a man, who said that they would
202 fight in a certain number of days. The
539 [Southern] messenger (ho·ye·lis), sent by the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin, asked him how many [Northern] tribes were allied. He was told that there were three, the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni, and that they would fight in seven days. On being questioned, the [Northern] messenger asserted that he was sure of this, for the leaders had decided upon the time. The [Southern] messenger then said that the Bankalachi, Koyeti, and Tinlinin were not ready yet, but that they would send their own messengers [to get an intertribal agreement upon the time?].

[After the Southern messenger had returned and] made inquiries, the [Bankalachi] leaders told him that it would take them five days to complete their preparations. The next morning they sent him to Tinliw, saying that he should return in five days, for at that time they wanted to know when the [Tinlinin] could come. The [Southern] messenger then went to Tinliw, where the people were numerous, and told their leader, Lemondo, that he had been sent. Lemondo ordered his workers (t'so·'ihni') to assemble the people. He asked the [Southern] messenger whether his news was good or bad and was told that it was bad. His messengers ran swiftly.

One of them went to the Tejon people. On approaching, he shouted and the people gathered immediately. Their leader told them that the news was probably bad, that they had better get their bows and prepare themselves. By the time the messenger [of Lemondo] arrived, they were ready. He told them that the leader [Lemondo] wanted the people to come to his house immediately; they were to listen to one who had come from far off. The people were advised by their messenger to get their bows and their necklace charms [talismans]. Some of them got grizzly-claw necklaces, others got falcon-head necklaces, and still others got eagle-head necklaces.

When they reached the leader's [Lemondo's] place, one of their leaders took them where many people were assembled. There the [Southern] messenger was asked for his news. He reported that the Bankalachi leader wanted the people, for a battle was to take place. On being asked what tribes were angry, he answered that they were Northerners--the Chunut, Choinok, and Wükchamni. At this some of the people asserted that the Northerners were a useless lot, that the Southerners would give them a

[576]

[25] Gayton and Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths, 87, 88, abstract 11, note 1. Nevertheless, to approach a village or isolated house without calling out was ill-mannered and regarded with suspicion.

[26] Recorded in Hoolanani dialect by Stanley S. Newman from Frank Monnol, Bankalachi.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

726 202 539

good clubbing. In reply to further questions, the [Southern] messenger told them that his leader wanted the people in five days, for the [Northern] messenger would return in five days and again in seven days. Some of the warriors were very happy; they promised that the people would arrive at the proposed time.

The [Southern] messenger returned to his leader and reported that he had been successful in persuading the [Tinlinin] people to come in five days. [After five days] the people arrived at the leader's house. The warriors immediately began inquiring who their opponents were and when the fight was to take place. They were told that the Northerners were their opponents and that the seventh day had been chosen for the battle.

The Northern messenger also arrived on the fifth day. He reported that he did not have much news: his people would come to fight on the seventh day. The [Bankalachi] leader said that his people were ready and asked where the tribes would meet. He was told that the place was Chiteetiknawahsiw (tsiti·tiknawa·siw, literally "sliding-place, place where one makes oneself slide"; according to my informant, this place is situated near Deer Creek).

The day of their departure arriyed. The [Southern] people went to Gayliw (gayliw, literally "waiting-place, meeting-place," identified as "Lookout Mountain" by my informant), from where they could see other people coming. They then descended to the plains and fought there. [411] They used only arrows and obsidian (tba·sip), with which they pierced each other. Half of the Northerners were wiped out, and some of them ran away. Some of the Bankalachi were killed too. Some of those who had run away went far to the west and reported to the Tachi. A Chunut messenger told the Tachi that the Northerners had been wiped out by the Southerners.

The Tachi leader immediately sent his messenger to Tabsa. After receiving Tabsa's greetings, the [Tachi] messenger told him that, according to reports, the Wikchamni had been wiped out by the Southerners. Tabsa assured the messenger that he would leave with his people in two days. After the two days had elapsed, Tabsa went to the Tachi. He asked the Chunut messenger, who was still there, what had happened. The messenger told him that his people had fought and had been badly beaten. Tabsa then hurried him off to gather whatever Chunut warriors remained and to bring them back immediately. The messenger returned home and told the warriors that their allies were speeding preparations to fight the next day. The Chunut joined Tabsa, who again asked for information about their battle with the Southerners. They told him that half of their people had been killed. Tabsa decided that they had better fight the following day. The Chunut messenger offered to carry the news to their enemies, for he knew where they were. Tabsa told him to go immediately.

The [Chunut] messenger journeyed all night, and the next morning he reached the enemies' camp, where he was greeted. He told them that the Tachi had joined his people and asked if they knew of Tabsa; they replied that they did know of him. It was agreed that they would fight the next day in the plains. The messen-

726 ger then returned to the Tachi and informed
202 them of the arrangements that had been made for
539 the battle. Tabsa was pleased.

The next morning they left and met their enemies at the appointed place. They fought for a long time, shooting at each other and dodging. Some of them ran away. Tabsa and Xenilal grappled with one another for a long time. But Tabsa became exhausted, for Xenilal was a very large man. Finally Tabsa got away and spoke from a distance. Neither of them had any more arrows; they worked on each other with necklace charms.

728 At last Tabsa said that they had better
539 quit fighting, now that all of their comrades had run away. Xenilal agreed. In reply to Xenilal's question, Tabsa promised that he would never fight again. The Tachi had been severely beaten. Then Tabsa and Xenilal conferred; they were friends now. Tabsa told Xenilal that he thought they should not fight with each other but should live peacefully ('inestam, literally "in a good manner"). This leader seemed to be a remarkable man. He said that soon he would arrange to have the Northerners and Southerners assemble, so that they could see each other peacefully. This remarkable man was going to make a feast in seven days. He went on to say that Xenilal and his people need be afraid of nothing, that they should bring their comrades and wives. Xenilal asked when the feast would be held and was told that it would probably take place in seven days. The final greetings were exchanged, Tabsa repeated his hope that they fight no more but live in peace, and the two leaders departed for home.

The people had missed them; they thought that their leaders had killed each other. When Tabsa arrived among the Tachi, his comrades were still there. They expressed their surprise at seeing him, saying that they had thought he was dead. He assured them that he had not been killed, though Xenilal was a very powerful (ṭipni') man. He then asked the people to assemble at his home and added that it would be best for them not to fight again. The Tachi people agreed. On being questioned about the date of the feast, he said that he would start preparations immediately on his arrival home.

After he had returned to his home, Tabsa announced that the feast would take place in seven days. He warned the people not to "talk about anything" when the Southerners and the
[202] Chunut arrived. Then Tabsa sent his crier (wina·tum) south to carry the report to all the Tinlinin, Bankalachi, and Koyeti. The crier invited these people to the feast and assured them that there would be no more fighting.

574 The people went to the feast; all the
728 Tinlinin and Bankalachi came there. As soon
539 as they arrived, they were stopped and presented with bead (liʔna') money. This is Indian money. They feasted heavily, eating fish and many ducks and wild geese. At the end of the feast the Southerners were again given bead money. Then Tabsa spoke. He said that he did not think it good for them to fight; he thought it better that they should see each other peacefully, just as they were doing now. Then he told them all to return to their homes and to live peacefully.

622 Chunut; Tipwatswat, Tokelyuwich, Wowol; Halha'lis (Joe Thomas; José) Nutuwich moiety, Tachi. Pohasa's son died before he was old enough to officiate as a chief, and Tipwatswat (Charlie Thomas)[57] succeeded Pohasa in importance. Some years later Tipwatswat wanted J.A. to be a tiya because she was a paternal niece of Pohasa. This suggestion she rejected "because she would have to entertain visitors and strangers and she had no man to protect her from doctors." Wepːs, J.A.'s brother, acted as a tiya on ceremonial occasions.

The last Tachi chief of importance, Kanti, had no children, brothers, or sisters that J.A. can recall. When he was very old he gave a feast at which he selected three men and two women, all of chiefly lineage, to continue the duties which yet remained to them in their disintegrated culture. Motsa, whose father had been a Tachi chief and who was himself already known as a chief of dubious personal repute, was maternal "nephew" (mother's cousin's son) to Kanti. He was said to be about Kanti's own age; Kanti selected him as a successor. The other four were Sokai (Joaquín), a Tachi; Gomepːs (George García), a Wolasi, and his sister, Watsmat; and Yaowatat (Tachi) a daughter of the Tachi chief, Joe Thomas.

Estudillo mentions four Tachi chiefs, Mariano Tiesar, Goolill, Cullas, and Chilaxas, and two Nutunutu chiefs, Taija (perhaps a corruption of tiya) and Chata, his nephew, and a chief of the Wimilchi, Coytisa. Three chiefs from the same region he assigns to two unidentifiable villages or tribes, Guchita (or Guchaita) and Hocha of Guchetema, and Guchalne of Tatagui.[58] This was in 1819.

J.A. did not know of Lučuči, the chief at Telweyːt.

624 The official messenger (wina'tem) had much the same duties as in the foothills. Both
● 202 chiefs and shamans had these assistants, being called respectively, ti'yan winatem and a'mutun winatem. While J.A. says that Dove was the totem for either class of messenger, she has at other times stated that Roadrunner (o'ioi) might also be a messenger's totem.

[616] Moiety distinctions did not hold for chief's messengers, who served a chief irrespective of his moiety. J.A.'s husband, Tsupa, a Tokelyuwich Tachi [Hutsammi], said he "sometimes didn't know which side he belonged on because he was a tiya's winatum."

[293] A chief's messenger, when going on an official visit, carried a long cane called site'lami, to the top of which was attached a strand of beads. (J.A. could not say what became of this strand but implied that it was left somewhere.) On entering a village he went directly to the chief's house where he was

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[57] Joe Thomas and Charlie Thomas are not related.

[58] Gayton, Estudillo, 76,80.

624 served food. The first bit that he put in his mouth he spat out "just like Dove."[39]
[202] The Chunut had an official not found in the foothills. This was the pine´ti or lane´·i, official adviser. J.A. had difficulty defining his functions. Magpie (o´čoč) was his totem, but his duties were not associated with either moiety. Seemingly he acted as a go-between for ordinary persons and a chief. "If a man wanted to kill a doctor, he would go to pineti to make the request. He'd be told to wait until pineti had consulted the captain." However, he did not speak at ceremonies for chiefs, often talked directly to the people. Another official made proclamations for the chief.

624 The official proclaimer was hile´t·ts, a
786 term often applied to crow (kankas), his totem, just as Dove is often referred to as "winatum." The chief paid this man to make announcements for him. If at a mourning ceremony a chief was ready to collect money, he would call the announcer, give him "about ten cents," and tell him to go through the camp telling the people "to pay now."

Kroeber equates a Tachi official "hohotich" with the "hilet·ts" of Yauelmani and "hiauta" of Yaudanchi, classifying them all as clowns "whose business it was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent, and act nonsensically."[40] It would seem that hilet·ts should not be in the clowning category.

624 Another man who was not a tribal official but had a specific function was pine´w·ts (the hiau´ta of the foothills). This was a man of
[787] great bravery who would kill doctors; such a man dreamed of Cooper's hawk. While his functions were the result of his private special powers, his services as a destroyer of malevolent shamans brought him public recognition.

622 On Tachi chieftaincy we have Gifford's information gathered in 1915, which agrees in large part with that given by the Chunut J.A. in 1928-1929. The José of Gifford's data is Joe Thomas, according to J.A.; her information regarding the woman Motsi corroborates Gifford's.

616 The Tachi possess moiety chiefs. The
622 title of the chief is diya. A male chief is described as noča diya, a female chief as mukela diya. In one recent case of succession the Tachi "elected" a cousin of the decedent to the position. Both were toxelyuwiš. The informants said that a close relative of a dead chief was "elected" anciently, always one of the same moiety, of course. However, a dying chief might name his successor, his son, for example.

There were always two chiefs in a settlement, one for each moiety. In 1915 Joaquin Robert was the nutuwuts chief in the rancheria

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[39] This evidently refers to some habit of the mourning dove.

[40] Handbook, 497.

1: Gayton E-S (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 50b] Tulamni

622
624 disheveled hair hanging down over the face." [Possibly Pages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

524 Games.---Two dice games, and hoop and pole,
525 are recorded by Pages. The first, for women only, was played with dice of snail shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

526 The tossed hoop and pole game he describes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

202 Signals.---Pages states that during all-night celebrations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.[526]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

tip of the chin. This piece was grasped with the teeth, while the end at the back was pulled from each side around the hanging hair and, enclosing the hair, twisted into a long roll. Twisted as tightly as possible, the roll was pulled up over the left ear and forward across the peak of the forehead, around the right ear, and the end of the roll, which was net rather than hair, was pinned in place with a bone or wooden skewer. The hanging flap in front was raised and tucked in over and back of the roll over the forehead (fig. 7, d). Ornaments were fastened to this with skewers. The Wukchumni seem to be the southern limit for the hair net: the Yaudanchi did not use it (M.S.; S.G.), although tribes to the north, including the Miwok, did.

It is said that in old times every man had at least one ear lobe pierced. On ordinary occasions a little wooden or cane pipe was carried there. For dress an elaborate ear ornament called po', made of quail crests and a single hawk feather bound to a slender stick or cane, was thrust in the lobe with the quill pointing forward. Sometimes just a quill was worn, especially a greased quill when the hole had first been made; this, too, was called po' (M.P.). Women also used these ornaments.

In the Central Foothill region all men who had drunk jimsonweed, and many others as well, had the nasal septum pierced. A tubular bead (huma'na) some three inches long was worn in it on dress occasions (J.P.). This does not agree with Kroeber's information, that only women had the nasal septum pierced.[162]

An article of dress worn most frequently by messengers but also used by other men was a long pouch made of a whole ground-squirrel skin with fur left on, or sometimes of a small fox skin. It was worn at the left side-back with the neck or open end pulled up and hanging out over the belt. A messenger carried money in it, an ordinary man his small talismans or trinkets of value. It was put under the neck at night as a pillow and for its protection.

Women's dress.--Women also wore a buckskin breechclout. There was no distinction in the cut save that a woman's might be somewhat longer; it was held in place with a similar belt. The clout was not necessarily donned until first menses, although most girls approaching puberty wore the "grass" aprons.

Over the breechclout women wore a back and front apron of shredded fibres, the back one longer and coarser (ču'niš, Wukchumni; to'hot, Yaudanchi). The inner bark of willow, cut, dried, and pounded as for string, was used by Wukchumni, Gawia, Telamni, and Yaudanchi.[163] The Wukchumni, Gawia, and Telamni, like the lake people, made aprons of tule fibre if

[162] Handbook, 519.

[163] Yaudanchi, from Kroeber, ibid.

622 administrative abilities, but added that, if he proved unable, another person would be chosen to function in his place. Therefore the rule of inheritance, as given above, was not rigidly followed: a brother or son might be ignored if thought unsuitable, or he could himself decline the office if he wished. A brother, son, or grandchild might be selected, but a cousin was an unusual choice.

Although the wives, sisters, and daughters of a chief were also termed tiya, they did not function save in the role of hostesses on ceremonial occasions. A great burden of housewifely management fell upon them as they had to be prepared at any moment to serve food to a visitor, and at ceremonial functions large [595] quantities of food were needed. A chief usually had two wives at once; other men were usually monogamous, at least in residence.

778 The eagle was invariably the totemic or
825 lineage symbol of the chief and his descendants
622 in the male line in Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod society. The falcon (lɨ́mɨk), "wolf" (iwéyɨt, the mountain coyote), and cougar (wehɨ́šɨt) are mentioned as associated or secondary totems though they are not, in the Central Foothills, the major totems for any chiefly lineage. How these function as secondary totems is not clear, and one gets the impression that it is merely a carry-over from mythology wherein these, too, are "important persons" though Eagle was the chief.

622 There were no insignia of office for a chief or his relatives.

There were two or three chiefs to every tribe, though the number naturally varied with the size of the tribe. For local matters pertaining to their own villages, such as family quarrels, the time to move camp for seed-gathering, or the building of a new sweat house, a chief could make his own decisions. Anyone who wished might go directly to the chief for [624 advice, instructions, or aid, but most commonly 202] the chief's messenger (winatum) served as a go-between. "The tiya usually sent his winatum to give people messages (for instance, to stop a quarrel), or people sent word to the tiya the same way" (S.G.).

For a matter which involved intervillage activity within a tribe, all the chiefs had to be in agreement. The usual need for this came at the time of the Annual Mourning Ceremony, which was a tribal affair.

If one chief made a suggestion, as for a mourning ceremony, the other chiefs had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. He would tell his winatums to get the other chiefs. In the meantime he could go out to the community fire and start talking to the people who were gradually assembling. Everyone in camp who wanted to came at such a time regardless of age or sex. [A young menstruant would not go, but an older menstruating woman would go and stay in the background.] As the

624 According to J.P. "the tuye'i came under the tia'a." There were four or five of these in a tribe. The position was inherited, usually going to a son but sometimes to a brother. J.P. served as a tuye'i at a recent mourning ceremony; his part was to share in the expenses and assist in general plans and their projection. The recent ceremonies are not occasions for money-lending.

The Yaudanchi Tm.W. said the tuye'i helped the tia'a at a duniša (ceremony). "If the tia'a had no money these boys had to put up the rest." However, Tm.W. indicated three classes of these subchiefs or financial assistants, thus: "If the tia'a put in $5.00, the tuye'i put in $3.00. Behind the tuye'i was the pokn·'nwad, he put up $2.00. The nututa was behind the pokn·nwad, and he'd put up whatever he had, $1.00 maybe."[229]

[202] Messenger.---The position of messenger (winatum) was inherited in the male line but the title, like the chief's, and some of the duties applied to the messenger's wife, sisters, sons, and daughters. Not all the siblings in a genealogical stratum served in the office, only those who wished to do so. Probably if the family were small, say with but one or two offspring, pressure would be exerted to see that they followed their father's profession. A modern instance of this is J.P.'s family of several children among whom two have been designated to serve as "winatums" at ceremonial functions, aberrant as they are. In this instance a maternal "inheritance" is being followed, as it is M.P. who is of a winatum's lineage.

Her father and her maternal grandfather were both winatums. And her maternal uncle, following his father, was also a winatum. This, incidentally, is an instance of a marriage between persons of comparable lineages, i.e., her father, a winatum, with the daughter of another winatum. All had Dove as their lineage or totemic symbol.

[778] [825] [304] The dove, in Central Foothills, invariably is the totemic creature of the winatum, just as Roadrunner is the symbol among the Lake and Northern Foothill groups. M.P. has a tattooed mark on her wrist which she said was "dove's feet" (fig. 9, d).

The term messenger is a misnomer for this officer, for his duties included directing ceremonial activities, even when supervised by a general "dance manager" (see below), seeing that visitors were supplied with shelter, wood, and water, dividing foodstuffs, quieting quarrels, and collecting payments. His wife, sisters, or daughters, served as stewardesses at ceremonies, assisting in the preparing and serving of food. Furthermore, shamans had their own winatums whose duties consisted of

[229] My notebook adds: "Informant can't be definite; have impression that this was an inherited and specific position; were required to put up money if called upon."

624 dressing them in ceremonial regalia, applying paint on their faces and bodies, caring for their paraphernalia during ceremonies, removing and destroying the causes of a sickness extracted from a patient, collecting the shaman's fees for a display or curing.

The following is largely from M.L.

622 The Gawia and Yokod had the same offices
624 and duties of chiefs and winatums as had the Wukchumni and Yaudanchi. Doctors had winatums of their own. A chief or a winatum looked just like any other citizen of his village; he had
[213] no special mark or manner of dress. But when traveling a winatum always carried a long slender cane which was not decorated. When he entered another village, he went directly to the chief's house. He was paid by the parties at both ends, i.e., by the chief who sent him and the one who received him.

A chief always sent his winatum from house to house to announce a mourning ceremony or any other news that was to be made public. He would send him to a family with a special message, say, with a request that they cease quarreling, and people sent back word to the chief by the same means.

624 When a winatum arrived at a village, he went directly to the chief's house. A mat was
209 set out for him in front of the house and food was brought to him. He must eat some of the food, but it was not imperative that he finish it. He was joined by the chief and, when he
[431] was through his collation, gave his message. If he had money for exchange he produced it or, if a loan was to be discussed, he kept the money until the chief and his associates were ready to accept. His money he carried in a
[293] purse or sack called gu·ta´la. This was a complete skin of a wildcat (tu´ned), fox (a´dja), or tree squirrel (sa´ñsañwide´'ɨt) cured with the fur still on. The head of the skin was pulled up under his breechclout at the left hip. The sack full of money was kept under his neck to protect it.[23] A winatum who stayed the night remained as the chief's guest: he did not go to the local winatum save as a visitor to pass the time of day.

624 For a forthcoming Annual Mourning Ceremony, or for lesser affairs, the winatums made all the arrangements, secured performers, planned the food, wood, and water supply. The number of winatums in a village "depended on the size of the winatum's family," there was usually but one winatum's lineage in a village. The winatum was not a personal servant to the chief but could be called on by anyone for assistance -- provided they paid him for his
[574] services. When the Yokod, Gawia, or Chunut
[571] visited the Wukchumni they brought their own winatums. Visiting winatums "all helped each other" under the direction of the local head winatum. When a chief had some project on hand

[23] Neck-rests and pillows were a joke to informants who were told of such articles among other people.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 M529 Yokuts M529

[P. 147b] Choinimni

Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

Musical instruments.---The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kuluŭao were Kudu´ma and La´hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

A short musical bow, twanged upon while one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kič; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

Paint.---White paint (ho´sot) was a clay "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville). Red paint (hu´´iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´wən) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

Pipes.---A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sa´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´kil (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

We were almost a day carrying dunnage from Sycamore down to the place where the rafts were built. It could have been ten miles below the rancheria. I do remember that the river was wide there, and that a great quantity of tules grew in a slough leading out from the river. It was in this slough that the raft had been built.

"When we were all aboard, the boats were poled out into the stream and allowed to drift with the current. Three or four of the men stood at the sides of the raft and kept it away from snags and in the main current. In this way we floated along at about two or three miles an hour.

"At night the raft was moored to the bank in a quiet place and we camped on the shore. It was really one of the greatest experiences I have ever had, and certainly the greatest I had while living with the Indians. I believe that they, too, enjoyed these trips more than any of their other experiences. We traveled in style and in comfort. The river was lined with trees and vines and it was one beautiful scene after another.

"In after years I used to cross Kings river many times on the bridge south of Kingsburg and the scene there always reminded me of our trips.

"Of the amount of time used in making the trip to the lake shore I have no accurate recollection. We traveled very slowly and hunted a great deal along the way. Sometimes the hunters did not board the boat at all during the day but met us with game when we had made camp in the evening. I suppose that it must have taken us at least ten days to go from Sycamore creek to Tulare Lake."

SMOKE SIGNALS AND SIGN LANGUAGE

In the diary kept by J. C. Frémont while he was traveling through the San Joaquin Valley he wrote, under date of April 6, 1844:

"After having traveled 15 miles along the river, we made an early halt, under the shade of sycamore trees. Here we found the San Joaquin coming down from the Sierra with a westerly course, and checking our way, as all its tributaries had previously done.

"We had expected to raft the river; but found a good ford, [probably Gravely Ford, below present Herndon] and encamped on the opposite bank, where droves of wild horses were raising clouds of dust on the prairie.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

raising clouds of dust on the prairie. Columns of smoke were visible in the direction of the Tule Lakes to the Southward—probably kindled in the Tulares by the Indians, as signals that there were strangers in the valley."

This mention by Frémont of an ancient custom of the Yokuts Indians is probably the most significant of any that he made on that trip through the San Joaquin Valley. We know from old Indians and early white travelers and settlers that the Yokuts had for countless years telegraphed to the far ends of the San Joaquin Valley by means of smoke signals, warning that their territory was being entered by a strange, or hostile party.

When a party of Spanish entered the lower end of the valley for the purpose of securing proselytes for the missions, within four hours the tules were afire from the Cosumne River to the south end of Kern Lake, and a message was passing by means of smoke signals along the Sierra and Coast Range foothills from one look-out station to the other.

In this way the size of the party, the kind of people of which it was composed, the direction in which they were traveling and their actions were described to those tribes more than 250 miles away in less time than it could be taken today by means of automobiles.

If this party was reported to be hostile, immediate preparations were made to remove all women and children to hiding places, and to collect and arm all men for resistance.

Concerning the details of sending smoke signals little has been preserved. From *Cham'-sah*, an aged *Koyeti*, I learned that a small fire was used, it being partially smothered by weeds and grass which gave off a dense smoke when burned. Wahumchah states that the Yowlumne obtained asphaltum from the west side and used it for sending smoke signals.

A large cooking basket was placed over the fire to interrupt the smoke and divide it into puffs. A long series of short puffs was the signal of alarm. A long series of widely separated puffs meant that all was clear. Chamsah stated that a small isolated hill southeast of Porterville, known as *Chewil Tinin*, meaning Cottontail's Home, (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22S, R28E, MDB&M) was long used as a Koyeti signal station.

It was due to this close-knit allegiance of the many Yokuts tribes that they were able to resist all invading forces, except the Forty-niners, and to continue as a peaceful people.